Copper Eskimo
(1913-16) 1922
1: Jenness--frontispiece
116, 291

PLATE I--Ikpakhuak and his wife Higilak in full dancing costume

[Redrawn after photograph]

1: Jenness--267
116, 291

(1913-16) 1922

Copper Eskimo

PLATE IX--Kila (left) and Kanneyuk, two Dolphin and Union Strait girls in full dress, front and rear views.
[Redrawn after photographs]

2: Stefansson--26 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 291

"This section [JMR: i.e., Akuliakattak Lake] is less well supplied with caribou than most other districts of the Copper Eskimo; consequently, the people live to some extent on fishing in the lake and are forced to purchase some of the skins they need for clothing from other tribes, chiefly in exchange for articles of wood. On account of this scarcity of caribou the Akuliakattagmiut use more sealskin for garments than do other tribes and are in general less satisfactorily dressed."

2: Stefansson--59 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
291. 264

"The skins of all birds are used for handwipers after eating greasy food, and the skins of loons are used for slippers between the socks and outer boots in winter. Loon skins are also used during the fly season in summer to beat off mosquitoes."

2; Stefansson--121 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 291, 293

"Loon skins and duck skins are used for slippers inside boots in very cold weather; the skins are also carried in summer to beat off mosquitoes from one's face and neck."

2: Stefansson--232 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
291, 117

"Clothing. The clothes are of the general style of those I got from Mogg (Victoria Island--Prince Albert Sound) but vary greatly, no two being quite alike. The swallow-tail is usually to knee and never below calf of leg, and from six inches to fifteen inches wide. Some coats are cut about as our 'frock' coats. One has almost a horizontal lower line and reaches almost to knees. The sleeves are generally short and the mittens not quite to wrist, leaving the wrist bare, all but snowhouse-building gauntlets. The pants and coat barely meet in front, typically, and when one reaches arms above head the abdomen and chest are bare from an inch or so below the navels to above the nipples, for the coats are very badly cut at the shoulders, --for a man about a foot broader than the wearer. On some women's coats the shoulders are nearer the elbow than the shoulder. Outside their pants, the women wear two huge pairs of leggings fitting loose around the thigh suspended from a belt. They must fill with snow in a blizzard. Both sexes wear slippers over leggings. Two men froze to death last winter, old men following the trail behind a party. It is a wonder half of them don't freeze to death."

2: Stefansson--236-237 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
291, 117

"Clothing. Clothing here same as at Staypleton. Mittens have hair in on palm and thumb. Long blouses of seal or deer slipped on when wind blows or build a snowhouse. Tails vary in length from middle thigh to middle calf, and in width from six to fourteen inches. Some meet body (waist) of coat at right angles, are of equal width all the way; some curved as much as to middle of each side of coat. Deer's ears form ventilating [237] holes to hood. There is a slit about half inch into tip of each ear, possibly ceremonial, on killing deer."

2: Stefansson--242
291, 117

(1908-12) 1914

Copper Eskimo

"Clothing. Only a few of them have really good deerskin clothes and some help themselves out with seal and squirrel, seal long blouses and squirrel pants."

2: Stefansson--245-246 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
291, 117

"Clothing. A cap of fawnskin with ear flaps and band under chin is used in summer against mosquitoes. The coat is typically swallow-tail, length varying from middle thigh to middle calf, and width from six to fifteen inches. All borders, seams, edges, are reinforced with a strip one-eighth to one-quarter inch of hairless skin inside and about one-quarter inch in from edge. Some coats are one color, some have much fancy work in black and white (all deerskin), mostly lines and rectangles. No fancy work on inner coats. Some outer coats have things hanging here and there usually in pairs. Most have a bone button (from twnety-five to fifty cent piece size) on small of back of coat. Some buttons oval or lozenge-shaped. Some coats not swallow-tailed; some of deer, but most of seal (no swallow-tails of seal) and come to about the knee. They are put on for snowhouse-making and in blizzard. The lower edge suggests that the skin was not trimmed at all below, the coat being as long as the skin allowed, and showing all the flaps and irregularities. The shoulders of these coats about fit the man, but the [246] swallow-tails, especially the outer, have exaggerated military shoulders, some being fully six inches too wide at shoulders, shoulders of coat sticking three or four inches beyond shoulders of wearer, and often therefore sagging down. The exaggerated shoulders and the swallow-tail give the men a triangular back figure.

Ears seem never cut off skins. I have seen them on women's boots, men's pants in front about each side the navel, and on the shoulders of a man's inner coat, the ear

sticking inwards. Each ear forms a hole in the garment, at least in the hoods. The ears of the hood sticking out give at a distance an appearance not unlike the mortar boards of academic institutions.

Inner coat has hair in; outer, hair out. Outer coat usually, but not always, thicker than inner. Tails of both outer and inner coat seldom of quite the same cut. Women's coats in general similar to men's, except that ears are not prominent on hood, but hood large and pear-shaped, hanging back on shoulder. Children are not carried in hood, but inside coats on back, as Mackenzie River. Trousers are plain or ornamented with white skin and pendant stringa. They come well above navel, much higher than farther west, and reach three inches below knee. They are loose at knee, not tied. The women's trousers are ornamented from the middle of side to middle of back of each thigh with vertical strips of dark and white deerskin. Each strip is wide at top and tapers down, or widest, perhaps about ten inches from top.

Boots. I had no chance to examine complete footgear. They wear two or more pairs of socks coming to knee inside pants, and over these a slipper of nelluak (white) sealskin drawn tight just below the ankle. Women's slippers similar, but leggings come to hips, about as our own water boots do, and fit very loosely. They are suspended from a belt."

12: Collinson--251 (1851-53) 1889 Copper Eskimo
116, 291

"Towards the middle of the month we had much bad weather, which prevented our getting out, and also the natives from coming to us; but on the 26th they returned; some parties were much better behaved than others. On the 27th we had a little girl, who I am sure could not have been above eight years old, who being taken much notice of, the next morning we had children of all ages from infancy to manhood. One little boy of four years old was attired in a bear skin suit of one piece, which served for hat, stockings, and everything else; how he got into it was a mystery at first, until his mother showed the invention."

12: Collinson--252 (1851-53) 1889 Copper Eskimo
116, 291, 146

"Great temptations were offered them to bring us venison or fish, but they evidently had it not to spare. Their [T. M: Belonging to a group of natives visiting aboard the Enterprise] clothes, which were remarkably good, they were very desirous to dispose of, taking any old suit of ours eagerly in exchange. A fine healthy ruddy appearance, however, showed there was no lack of food, and they afforded a strong contrast to our people, on whom the second winter and severe season, together with long exposure to candlelight, had given quite sallow complexions."

17: Merwin--163-165 (No date) 1915 Copper Eskimo
116, 291

"The dress of the Copper Eskimo, while much like that worn elsewhere in the Arctic, differs in detail. Both the men and women wear coats or frocks which are very much alike in cut, differing only in the hood, which for the women is large and for the men is short and small. The garment itself resembles very much the modern dress coat, except that this coat has a hood and is not open in front. The coats are made of caribou skin, the white skin being often combined with the gray to form a very attractive garment. The man's coat is usually decorated with a bone button in the small [164] of the back and sometimes with a number of strings worn at different places. For decorating the woman's coat, the ears and the teeth of caribou and often the skins of small animals are attached to the back. In winter or cold weather two coats are worn, an outer decorated one with the hair side out, and an inner one with the hair in. For dancing and ceremonies much time and work are spent in preparing the clothing. One ceremonial woman's coat of gray skin is quite elaborately trimmed with narrow strips of red and black hairless skin and with white hide having the hair on. Quite similar to this coat in material and decoration are two hats which have in addition to the narrow strips of hide, a strip of loon skin with the feathers still on. On top of these hats one or two loon beaks stand upright, and at the back a weasel skin is attached.

Both men and women wear breeches of the same material and decoration as their coats. These breeches are much higher waisted than are those of other Eskimo. The

men's extend from well above the waist to well below the knee, where they lap over the boots, two pairs of which are worn in winter. Inside of these boots next to the feet a pair of soft slippers is worn. One pair of well-made hairless moccasins is worn between the two pairs of boots and a second pair outside of them. The soles of both boots and moccasins are usually strengthened with a strip of leather sewed across the ball of the foot and another across the heel. This may make eight or ten thicknesses of skin under the feet. The women's breeches are tight fitting and extend only to the middle of the thigh, where they are tucked into the high boots or stockings which are tied to the belt. These garments, made with the hair either on or off, fit closely about the foot and ankle and then become larger and larger until at the top they may be nearly a yard around. Two pairs of these stockings with extra moccasins, as well as two pairs of breeches are worn in winter.

Stefansson's remark that 'the clothing worn by these people is as irrational as any worn in civilized countries,' is certainly well founded, for nothing but style or custom could endorse many of their garments. The man's coat with its short sleeves, which do not reach to the short mittens, and the small hood, which but partly covers the head, is certainly not the best sort of garment for cold weather. The boots of the women are so large as to hinder walking and also so loose as to readily admit snow. The men's breeches, not having puckering strings at the bottoms, leave the knee exposed.

[165] And still more strange is the fact that many of the people prefer to suffer cold by wearing their regular clothing, than to keep warm in the long coats and warm gloves possessed by all of them and worn mainly in house building."

21: Hearne--274 (1771) 1797 Copper Eskimo
291

"Their dress resembles that of the Greenlanders in Davis's Straights, except that the women's boots are not stiffened out with whalebone, and the tails of their jackets are much shorter."

28: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1946
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

• 291

Frontispiece. Man's inner and outer coats, one within the other. IV.D.777. Approx. 1/6.

[Frontispiece, facing P. i]

28: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1946
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

[P. 1]

MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE COPPER ESKIMO

INTRODUCTION

In 1914, when the Canadian Arctic Expedition established its headquarters at Bernard Harbour in Dolphin and Union Strait, on the western fringe of Copper Eskimo territory, the natives preserved their old culture, virtually unimpaired, despite contact with several explorers in the middle of the nineteenth century, and with others during the early years of the twentieth. The only visible change caused by these contacts was the introduction of a considerable quantity of iron, which the Eskimo hammered cold, as they hammered their native copper, and had already substituted for copper in knives, adzes, harpoon heads, and needles. From lack of ammunition the only men who possessed rifles, five in number, had fallen back on the bow and arrow, which was still the universal weapon of the chase. Of the arrows not tipped with bone about two-thirds bore tips of hammered copper and only one-third tips of iron; the ice chisel and other tools retained their copper blades and points; and the soapstone pot for cooking meat held undisputed sway in every household. All clothing was of skin or fur, mainly from the caribou and the seal; and in cut and adornment it followed without change the styles set by earlier generations. The blubber of the seal, burned in a soapstone lamp, provided the only artificial light, and throughout the winter months all the energies of the Eskimo were concentrated on the pursuit of seals at their breathing holes in the sea ice.

Ten years later the situation had undergone a profound change. Native copper had become practically valueless and served for rivets only. Bows and arrows had disappeared, because every native was now armed with a high-powered rifle. Other weapons and tools had steel or iron blades, metal cooking pots had ousted the soapstone vessels, and primus lamps and kerosene lanterns were spreading from home to home. Fur clothing was tending to follow western Eskimo patterns, and to be overlaid with bead-work, or with imported garments of cotton or wool. Dissatisfied with the old-fashioned snow-hut and skin-covered kayak, one native had even erected a plank cabin heated by an iron stove, and purchased a motor-boat to transport his household goods along the coast during the brief summer months. The tentacles of the fur trade had firmly gripped the region, and the trapping of foxes, animals of no economic importance in earlier times, now rivalled in importance the hunting of seals and caribou.

Fortunately, before this revolution occurred, the Canadian Arctic Expedition had brought out a large collection of Copper Eskimo specimens, nearly all of which are now stored in the National Museum at Ottawa. These specimens, and

Caribou leg skins were made into dog harnesses, snow mittens, and winter boots. The ears were used to trim the fronts of trousers at the waist line, or the backs and hoods of coats. The light skins of unborn fawns, or of fawns only a few days old, made serviceable clothes for tiny children, as well as summer caps to protect the head from mosquitoes, though for this last purpose marmot skin was often used instead. There were certain fashions in clothing. The heavy winter outer coat (*qulitaq*) was normally made from autumn skins, an adult's coat from the skins of the larger caribou, and a child's coat from yearlings and fawns. The two everyday coats, the *ilupaq* or inner coat and the *kapitaq* or outer coat, were of very short-haired summer skins; so, also, were the trousers, though for winter sealing it was advisable to have the outer pair of the thicker autumn skin. The same principle applied to the rest of the clothing and to the bedding; wherever warmth was especially requisite, autumn skins were necessary; otherwise the Eskimo preferred the light summer skins.

The spring skins of caribou were thrown away except in emergencies, because they were full of holes from the escaping larvæ of the warble-fly, and the hair was shedding to make way for the summer coat.

Other Skins. Polar-bear skins provided very useful "sleds" in spring, when the frozen mud runners of the ordinary sled melted and dropped off. There seems to be an oil in the hair of the polar-bear skin that renders it impervious to water; hence Copper Eskimo travellers commonly used a mitten or pad of bear skin to ice their sled runners. For the same reason sealers preferred a foot-pad of bear skin to one of caribou skin, which sheds its hair with dampness. The natives of Prince Albert Sound and Minto Inlet sometimes used bear skin for clothing, more especially for trousers, because caribou were less plentiful in their districts than farther south. The animal was skinned in the same way as a caribou.

So few brown bears were killed that there was no established use for their skins. Musk-ox skins, on the other hand, were much sought after for bedding, being laid under the caribou skins on top of willow matting. The northern natives sometimes made heavy coats from them.

Hares, foxes, ermines, and marmots were all skinned in the same way. A cut was made up the back of each hind leg and across to the tail, and the skin pulled off forwards. The forelegs were drawn out and severed at the ankles, and the ears were pulled out with the teeth. The tail of the fox, owing to its exceptional length, was often slit half-way down. Hare skins were used only for towels or socks, but fox skins up to at least a generation ago were sometimes made into coats. One of the dance songs popular in 1915 among the Dolphin and Union Strait Eskimo commemorated its use in this way.

The ermine was prized very highly as an ornamental appendage to the coat; consequently, the sight of one of these animals always occasioned the greatest uproar and excitement in a camp.

Of more value to the Copper Eskimo than all the other small animals was the marmot; from its skin they made coats, trousers, caps, trimmings for the tops of snow mittens and boots, and linings for the soles of caribou skin socks. From the same skin, also, they made tool bags and pouches for holding the fire apparatus. As a rule, however, marmot skin coats and trousers were confined to children, because their use by men suggested a lack of skill in caribou hunting. The natives of Victoria Island obtained their marmot skins by barter, as the animal does not extend beyond the mainland.

The Copper Eskimo killed very few wolves or wolverines until they obtained rifles and traps. We saw one man wearing a heavy coat of white wolf skins, and wolverine skins were probably put to similar use; at all events the natives readily made a sleeping bag from wolverine skins for a member of our expedition. They skinned birds in exactly the same way as small animals, except that

CHAPTER II

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Excluding the outer shoes, which were made of sealskin, it required no less than seven caribou hides to furnish the adult Copper Eskimo with one complete suit of clothing for winter travel; and every man really needed two suits, besides a raincoat and special footgear for the spring and summer months. In winter his costume comprised two frocks or coats (*atigi*) worn one inside the other, the fur of the outer on the outside, and the fur of the inner against his body; an overcoat (*qulitaq*), whenever the weather demanded it; two pairs of breeks (*qaqlik*), worn in the same way as the coats; two pairs of stockings worn similarly, and reaching to just below the knees (inner pair *alektik*, outer *mitqulik*); a pair of caribou fur slippers (*ilupeqquk*) between the stockings; and low sealskin shoes (*tuktukaluk*) as a final covering for the feet. A pair of mittens completed the outfit. The overcoat, unlike the outer garments, which were fashioned from summer skins, was made from the heavy winter coat of the caribou, and generally required two full skins for its manufacture. Of the two ordinary coats or *atigi*, the outer (*kapitaq*) also required the greater part of two skins because of its ornamental pattern, but the inner coat (*ilupaq*) could usually be made from one hide. Two more hides, with the fragments left over from the coats, generally sufficed for the breeks, footgear, and mittens. Caps were fairly common, but, apart from the ceremonial dancing cap, were worn mainly by children, as the ordinary coat nearly always carried a hood that could be drawn up over the head.

MEN'S CLOTHING

Coats. Except that they were closed down the front and provided with a hood to cover the head, men's outer and inner coats resembled in most cases the formal evening dress of Europeans; for in front they were cut away at the waist, and behind they trailed a tail that extended anywhere from below the knees to the ankles. Outer and inner garments alike were normally fashioned from caribou furs, the outer always, and the inner usually, from light summer skins. The outer alone was decorated with special insertions, and it, therefore, differed considerably in make-up from the inner coat, although Eskimo seamstresses did not adhere in either garment to one unchanging pattern, but varied the numbers and positions of their seams according to the shapes and sizes of the skins at their command. The sleeves of both garments were always a separate addition, not put together in any set way but pieced from fragments of skins. In inner coats all the back and the greater part of the hood were generally cut out from one piece of skin; the shoulders, front, and sides were either from one skin section also, or else from two joined together in a straight line from chin to waist. In outer coats, if we omit the decorative insertions, one piece gave the long tail and nearly all the middle of the back, a second the sides of the back and such of the front as was not filled by insertions; two small oblong pieces then filled the gaps, if any, under the arms, and a fifth piece, which carried with

291 294 281 it a narrow appendage running half-way down the middle of the back, gave the hood, except for a wide border around the face. Figures 3 and 4 show how the patterns of the two coats differed.

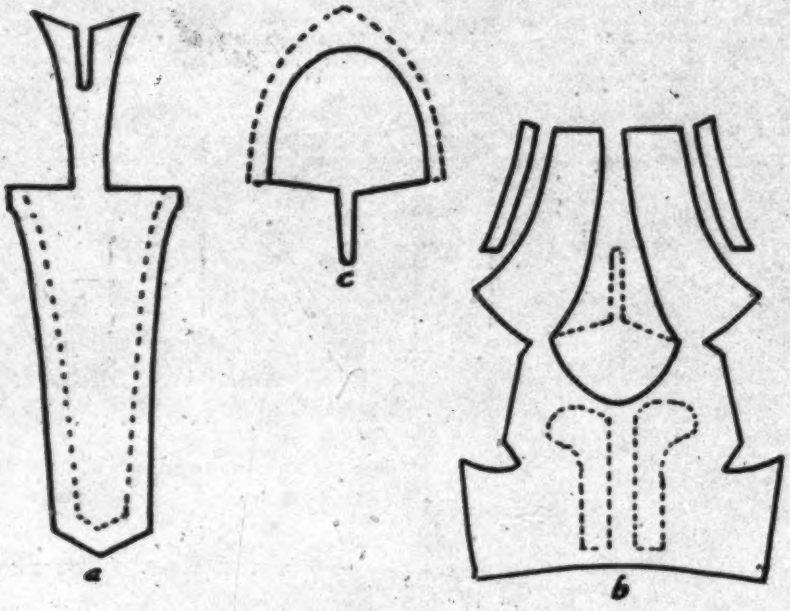


Figure 3. Pattern of man's outer coat; *a*: back; *b*: front and sides; *c*: hood.

294 [281] There were naturally certain rules governing the cutting of skins for the outer coat, but I failed to record them. Fashion decreed that between the shoulder blades should glisten a spot of white fur, preferably the tip of the caribou's tail; hence many women used the fur on the animal's rump and tail for the hood and for its narrow appendage down the back. Other women merely sewed to the end of this appendage a little splash of white fur from the animal's belly, which produced exactly the same effect. A second very common fashion was to adorn the hood with the two upstanding ears of the caribou; so many women made this part of the garment from the fur on the head and neck. Other women used the head and neck fur on the back of the coat so that the ears fell between the shoulder blades. The shoulders were always proportionately larger than in European coats, in order that the arms might be easily withdrawn from the sleeves; and around the margin of each garment, on the inside, was sewn a narrow band of dehaired skin, white or red, to prevent the edges from curling. It was customary to peak the hood of the coat, and this peaking, with the two upstanding ears and the long tail trailing between the legs, gave a stooping Eskimo so close a likeness to a caribou that it sometimes deceived his dogs hauling on the sled behind him and spurred them on to greater effort.

294
• 291

Figure 8a. Man's coat, front.

294
291

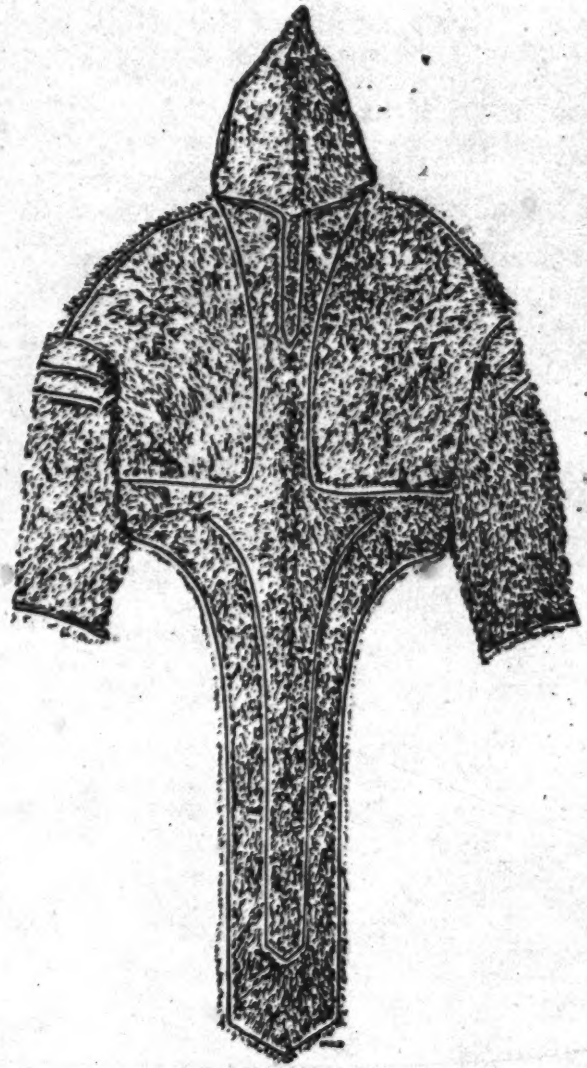


Figure 5b. Same coat, back. IV.D.905. Approx. 1/6.

28: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1946
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

291
294

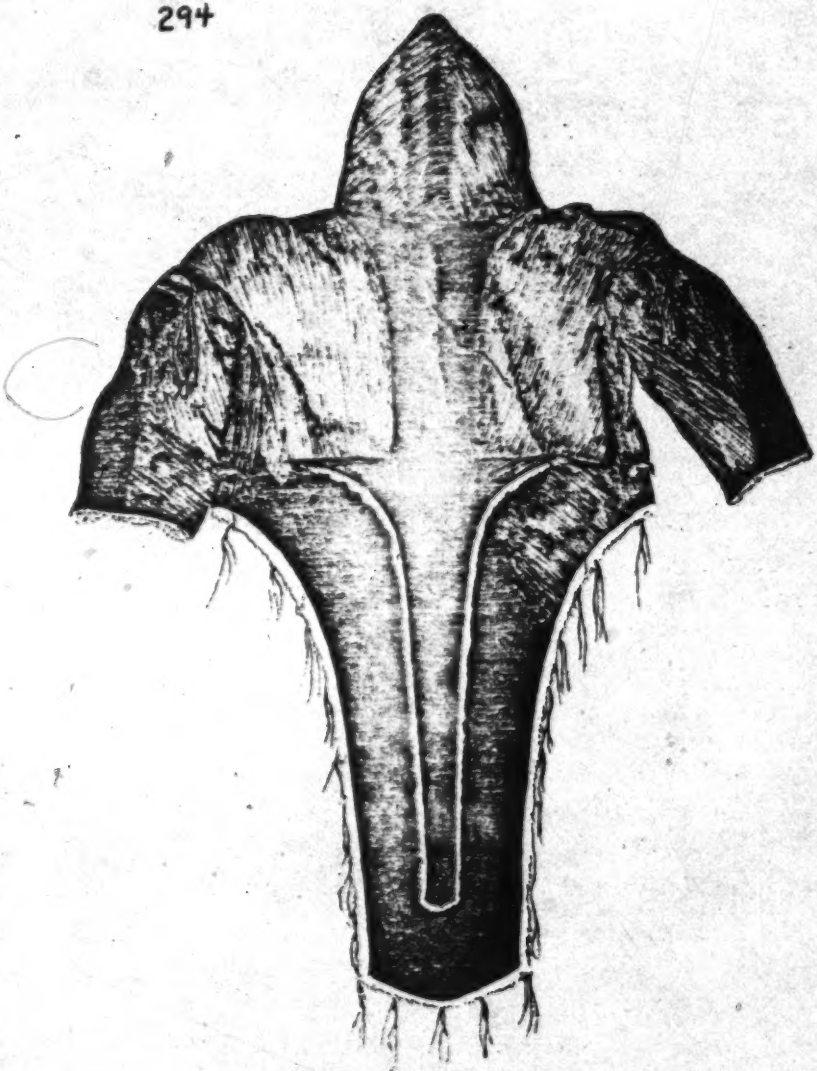


Figure 6. Back of man's outer coat. IV.D.777. Approx. 1/6.

291
294

In these decorated outer coats the white front stained rather easily, and the high waist was unsuitable for travelling in cold weather because it gave inadequate protection to the stomach. The latter defect could be partly remedied by slightly lengthening the front of the inner coat so that it would overlap the trousers by several inches. This the Eskimo often did. Even so, however, they generally reserved the short-waisted outer coat for evening wear, or for occasions when they wished to appear well dressed; and they wore for working and midwinter travelling an outer coat of heavy winter caribou fur that was nearly as long in front as behind, and that carried no decoration beyond an occasional white armband.[1] Many natives at the east end of Coronation Gulf, and one or two at the west end, affected a compromise garment; they wore both at home, and when travelling, a coat of moderately light fur that in pattern and decoration conformed to the style of the short-waisted coat, and could, therefore, take its place on ceremonial occasions, but which reached in front nearly to the knees, sometimes even below, and adequately protected the body in stormy weather[2]; on warm days it was often "pinned up" by hooking loops of sinew from the bottom edge to small toggles of wood attached around the waist. These same natives, however, nearly always possessed the heavier, undecorated coat so serviceable for midwinter sealing, and even at times the short-waisted coat. In such cases they occasionally dispensed with a hood on the latter garment, as it was no longer needed for outdoor wear.

291
294
184

We encountered in Bathurst Inlet a native who had modelled his coat on the style current among the Back River and other Eskimo living inland on the Barren Grounds. The tail, instead of being narrow and rather oblong, was broad and rounded, and separated from the equally long and rounded front only by a deep slit up each side. Long strings of dehaired caribou skin hung in a close-set fringe from all the lower border.

Nearly all Eskimo men possessed still another outer coat, made not from caribou fur, but from the skin of the common foetid seal. It had the same shape as the heavy winter sealing and travelling coat, but was generally a little shorter, seldom reaching as far as the knees. It served primarily as a raincoat during the damp days of summer when caribou fur sheds its hair, but a few natives wore it also for sealing during the months of May and early June when the snow is wet and soggy. Naturally, it was never decorated; even its bottom edge was seldom trimmed evenly, but often retained the holes through which the green skins had been pegged out to dry (Figure 7).

292
[132]
[294]

Inner and Outer Trousers. In winter, men wore two pairs of caribou-fur trousers (*qaqlik*), with the fur of the inner, as usual, against the body, and the fur of the outer turned outwards; in summer they laid aside the outer pair and wore only the inner, still with its fur inward. Both were approximately of the same length, barely overlapping the tops of the stockings; occasionally the inner pair was one-half inch to an inch longer (Figure 8). This inner pair was not decorated in any way, but often had a fringe of long-haired fur around the bottom, to protect the knees, as neither the inner nor the outer trousers carried drawstrings to bind them around the legs. The inner were often made from the heavy winter fur of the caribou, whereas for the outer, light summer skins were preferred, except for midwinter sealing. Most outer trousers were decorated on the legs; some carried bands of coloured skin at the bottom similar to those on stockings (Figure 9); others, a wide edging of white fur, and two or three narrower bands above; others again, combined these two types of decoration, or displayed more palpable geometrical designs in white bands. Most of the outer trousers had a drawstring around the waist that issued at the back through two

291

291
294

[1] For a photograph of a native wearing such a garment *See* Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, vol. XII, pt. A, fig. 88, p. 200.

[2] For a photograph *See* Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, vol. XII, pt. B, Plate VII (lower right).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 20]

291

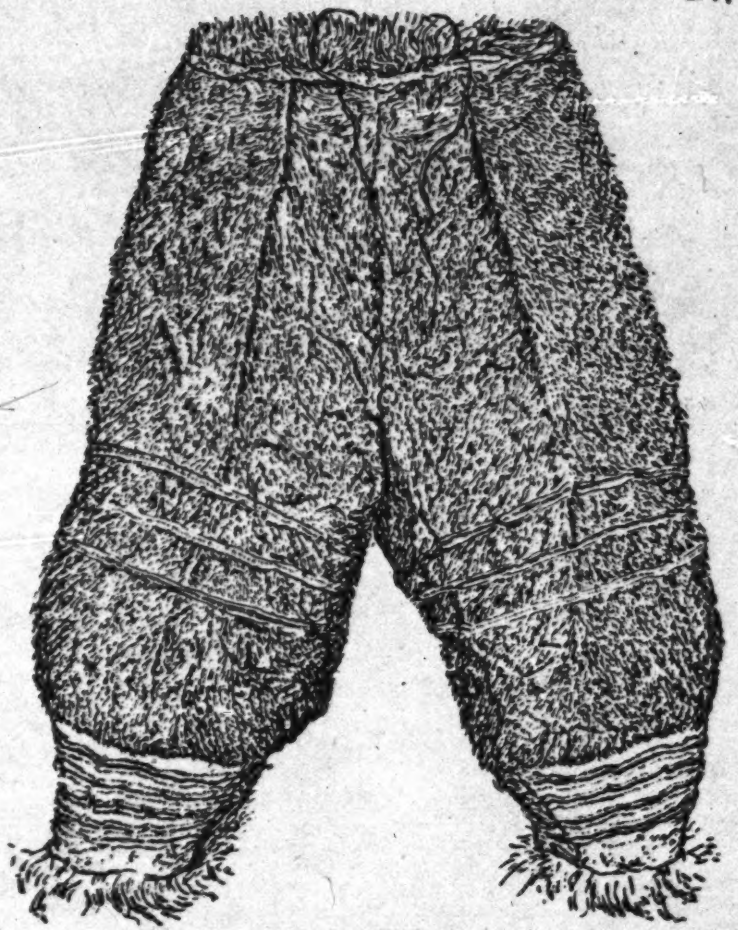


Figure 8. Man's outer trousers, over inner ones. IV.D.984. 1/8.

291 294 holes in the casing, and tied in front; a few were held up by a belt or cord of sealskin, occasionally fitted, like the women's belt, wth a toggle on one end and a loop on the other. As there were no keepers for this belt, such men's outer

Figure 9. Man's outer trousers. IV.D.970. Approx 1/3.

trousers as lacked the drawstring had generally two caribou ears sewn on in front, one on each side, to prevent them from slipping down. The inner trousers carried no drawstring, but were less apt to slip down when worn alone, because the pressure of the belt on the hairless side caused the edge to fold over.

Sealskin Shoes. The creamy yellow shoes of dressed sealskin (*tuktukaluk*) that formed the outermost covering of the feet during the winter months, and were commonly worn around camp in the summer, contrasted pleasingly with the brown and white caribou fur in the rest of the costume. The Eskimo made their shoes on two patterns. One type, the easiest to make, was a plain shoe (*ukuviaqtak*) in which the whole upper part covering the instep was a separate piece attached to the sole by a seam around the edge of the foot. More decorative, and, therefore, always preferred for dances, was the second type (*tuatuatsiaq*), in which the sole was crimped over the toes and its edges joined to an inserted V-shaped "tongue", broad or narrow according to the fancy of the maker, and cut from brownish black, undressed sealskin that stood out prominently in its yellow setting. The two patterns are shown in Figure 10.

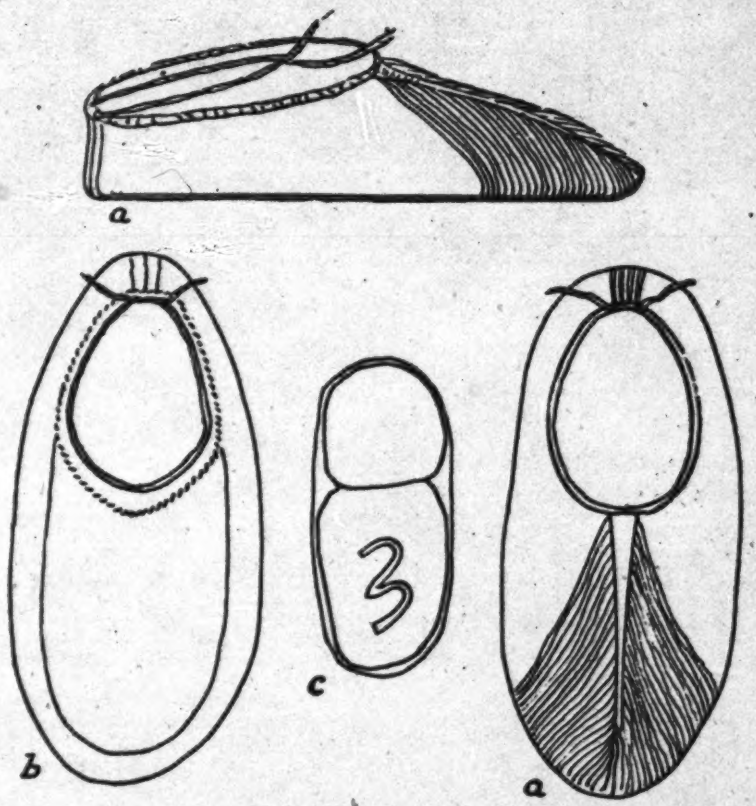


Figure 10. Sealskin shoes; *a*: crimped; *b*: plain; *c*: sole of *b* showing creases. IV.D.51, 1880.

In both types of shoes the sole was turned up over the heel, and either crimped (the tucks being threaded together with sinew knotted at both ends), or else slit, and, after the removal of one or more triangular sections, joined

29 together again. Heel-crimping was naturally confined almost entirely to the more decorative shoes. When not crimped, this type usually had one seam up the middle of the heel, whereas the plainer type frequently had two and even three.

294 A casing of sealskin (more rarely, caribou skin), undressed, and sometimes not even dehaired, was sewn round the top of the shoe to hold a cord of plaited 281 sinew (*singiq*) that emerged through two holes at the back and tied in a bow 291 over the instep. Two large patches of sealskin, dehaired but undressed, covered the whole or almost the whole of the sole, giving it double thickness; and whenever a hole wore in either patch, another was promptly superimposed on it. These patches had to be sewn on with concealed stitches that caught only the under surface, because the thread would quickly fray and break if it penetrated [149] to the outside. Natives who anticipated considerable walking on glare ice or very hard, firmly packed snow sometimes added also narrow, meandering patches —"creepers"—to give them secure foothold (Figure 10c).

[119] In the autumn of 1915, when the party with which I was travelling was [122] still hunting inland, an Eskimo induced his wife to make him a pair of caribou-[77] fur overshoes and to reinforce them with extra soles of sealskin. From another native I obtained a similar pair of caribou-fur overshoes that bore outer soles of dehaired caribou skin, and, over the outer soles, patches of sealskin. These were probably copied from the shoes of the inland Eskimo to the southeast, where they were invariably made from caribou fur, as the Copper Eskimo well knew. Around Coronation Gulf they were regarded with disfavour for ordinary use, because, although warmer, they readily soaked up the damp from the half-thawing floor of the snow-hut and immediately shed their fur. They were more practicable among the inland Eskimo, whose snow-huts were not so warm, because, lacking seal oil, they burned caribou fat in their lamps, which served in the main for lighting only.

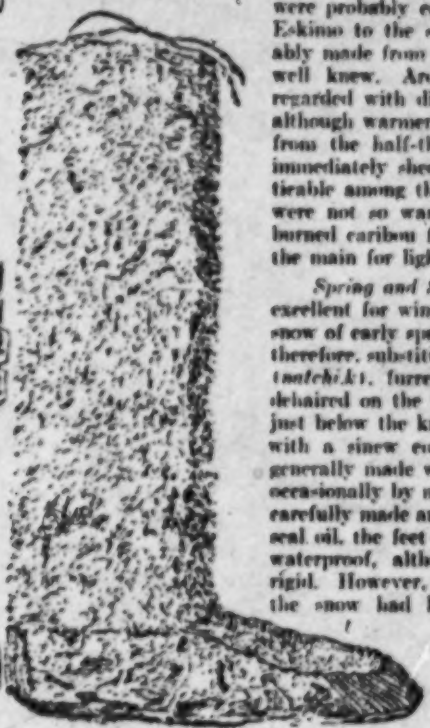


Figure 11. Man's spring boot. IV.D.1029. 1/6.

Spring and Summer Boots. Sealskin shoes were excellent for winter wear, but against the soft deep snow of early spring quite inadequate. The Eskimo, therefore, substituted for them long boots of sealskin (*natchik*), furred on the outside of the legs but dehaired on the feet (Figure 11). They reached to just below the knees, and were there tightly bound with a sinew cord that passed through a casing, generally made with an extra band of sealskin, but occasionally by merely sewing down the edge. When carefully made and saturated from time to time with seal oil, the feet of these boots were soft but quite waterproof, although the uppers were somewhat rigid. However, toward the end of spring, when the snow had largely melted, the streams were running, and pools of water lay everywhere, the Eskimo changed to their real waterboots (*iperautik*) (Figure 12), which were similar in shape, but dehaired throughout their entire

length.[1] They were tied, too, not around the top, but around the ankle, by means of a cord that threaded through two loops, one on the outside of the foot, the other on the inside.

Figure 12. Man's waterboot. IV.D.1035. 1/6.

In both types of boots the sole was commonly crimped up at heel and toe and sewn to an upper, V-shaped piece, exactly as in the better type of sealskin

[1] On the hair of some boots the hair was not scraped off, but clipped as closely as possible with scissors, thus preserving the full thickness of the skin.

291
281
294

ance. In boots, however, this V-shaped piece was never narrow, as in many shoes, but covered almost of the upper surface of the foot. The leg was sewn on last; besides the seam where it joined the foot, it bore a vertical seam up the front. The loops for the cord were an integral part of every waterboot, being carefully stitched in when the sole was sewn to its V-shaped upper. Grass insoles, such as were worn in waterboots by more western natives, were not current among the Copper Eskimo, whose short socks of seal and caribou fur fulfilled the same purpose.

824

One saw occasionally a hybrid type of boot, which had the sealskin foot of a waterboot but a leg of caribou fur, usually, if not always, taken from an outer stocking that had worn out in the sole. Boots of this type, like the boots with legs of haired sealskin, functioned only in the early spring and late autumn; from the beginning of June until October waterboots prevailed at all times, except that the low sealskin shoes served as slippers around camp.

292

Figure 13. Man's outer stockings. IV.D.773, 784. Approx. 1/3.

296

Boot soles, like the soles of shoes, were naturally reinforced with patches that demanded repair or replacement every 2 or 3 days when travelling over stony ground. As soon as the hunter returned to camp each evening his wife turned his boots inside out to dry, and, if necessary, soaked in a pot of urine enough sealskin to patch them in the early morning. Hide from the bearded seal lasted three or four times as long as hide from the foetid seal, but the Eskimo seldom possessed enough of the material.

291 •

Good waterboots, boots, that is to say, that would actually keep out the water, required very skilful sewing. If the thread gave out when making a seam the woman did not simply knot it and start afresh, but she carefully spliced a new thread into the end of the old; and she greased both the thread and the skin with blubber to prevent any tearing at the punctures. Men commonly tested a new pair of waterboots by standing in water, and unmercifully scolded their wives if the result proved unsatisfactory.

292

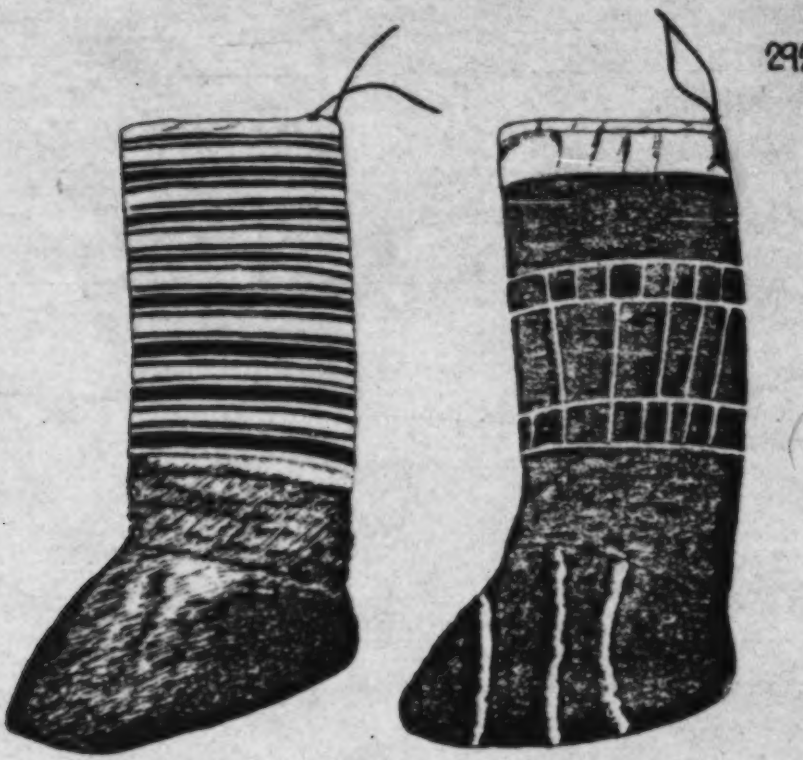


Figure 14. Man's outer stockings. IV.D.975, 772. Approx. 1/2.

Outer Stockings. The Copper Eskimo never wore an outer pair of stockings (*mitqolik*) except with sealskin shoes, because they were a needless encumbrance under the spring and summer boots. Like the latter, they reached to just below the knees, where either a casing was added or their upper edges stitched down to hold the cord of sinew that fastened in front of the leg and kept them in place. The outer side of the stocking, of course, was always furred. We may distinguish four varieties. The first and commonest, called simply *mitqolik* (Figure 13), was made from caribou leg skins, in which the hair lies flat and smooth; the second, *kamakpak*, from the body coat of the caribou, in which the

28: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1946
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

292 294 [192] hair is longer and stands out straighter, making the stocking seem very bulky. Fashion decreed that in this second variety there should be a streak of white fur down the inside of the leg. The third variety, also called, I believe, *kamakpak*, was made from less heavy body skin, and decorated at intervals with narrow bands of white fur that usually encircled the leg, but in some stockings ran vertically. This variety was quite popular, because it was serviceable for travelling, like the former two, and also acceptable in the dance house. [192] The real dancing stocking, which was rarely worn upon the trail, was the *kamakparyuk*, in which all or nearly all the leg was encircled by narrow parallel bands in three colours, white, red, and black or brownish black (Figure 14a). The white was given by close-clipped caribou fur or dressed sealskin, the black, by the natural colour of dehaired sealskin, darkened still more at times with galena, and the red, by dehaired sealskin stained with litharge.

Variations of these four types were not uncommon, for the Eskimo were quick to seize any new idea that presented itself. Thus, some stockings combined the characteristics of the third and fourth varieties; they were furred below the calf of the leg and decorated with one or more stripes of white-haired caribou skin, and above, they bore the parallel, coloured bands. Other stockings had two or three consecutive rows of coloured bands, usually black and white only, arranged at intervals down the furred legs. Illustrations of some of these variations are shown in Figures 13 and 14.

The feet of outer stockings were nearly always stitched from caribou leg skins, but the seams did not follow any definite pattern. One occasionally encountered feet made of haired sealskin, which were less warm than feet of caribou fur, but were not spoiled by the dampness that often penetrated through the sealskin overshoes from the soggy floor of the snow-hut.

291 294 [192] *Inner Stockings.* The inner stockings (*alektik*) coincided in length with the outer but were nearly always made from the thick winter skin on the body of the caribou and worn with the fur inside. As they were normally invisible, and did not need to be attractive, they were often pieced together from sections of old coats, sleeping skins, and other articles. The seams, therefore, followed no definite patterns, except that one usually ran lengthwise down the middle of the sole, because this was the easiest way to shape the foot. They needed no cord around the top, being stiff enough to keep their shape even when they were not held up by the outer stockings or the boots (Figure 15).

Figure 13. Man's inner stocking. IV.D.23. 1/3.

Socks. Between the outer and inner stockings came the socks (*ilupeqquk*), worn with the fur on the outside. Generally they were made from the thick winter coat of the caribou (Figure 16), but sometimes from the thinner summer coat, and occasionally, especially in children's clothing, from other skins such as hare, marmot, and even loon. A few, for greater warmth, were of double

Figure 16. Man's caribou-fur socks. IV.D.767. 1/4.

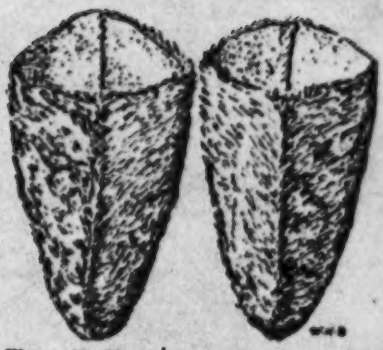


Figure 17. Man's outer socks, of seal fur. IV.D.762. 1/5.

Figure 18. Man's outer sock, of muskrats. IV.D.1288. 1/3.

thickness and presented fur on both the inside and outside. Each sock was commonly shaped from a single piece of skin, slit front and back, then seamed from toe to instep and up the heel; but there were numerous exceptions to this rule.

291
[132]

[192]

[292]

Figure 19. Child's fawn-skin cap. IV.D.951. 1/6.

Caribou fur socks were worn in winter and summer alike, over the inner stocking. When the snow began to melt in the early spring, and both the outer stockings of caribou fur and the sealskin shoes gave place to sealskin boots, the Eskimo wore over these caribou fur socks other socks of sealskin (*pineqqsik*), with the hair turned outside (Figure 17). Later in the season, again, when wandering inland over stony ground that was liable to blister the feet, they generally inserted socks of hairless sealskin (*kimitsituk*) between the other two (Figure 18). Both types of sealskin socks were made in exactly the same way as the caribou-fur ones.

Caps. Men very seldom wore caps, except the ceremonial caps for dances, but women used them occasionally, especially in summer when mosquitoes darkened the air, and children quite frequently at every season of the year. They were made generally from fawn or marmot fur, worn with the fur side outward; and in shape resembled a bonnet, often with lugs to protect the ears (Figure 19).

292

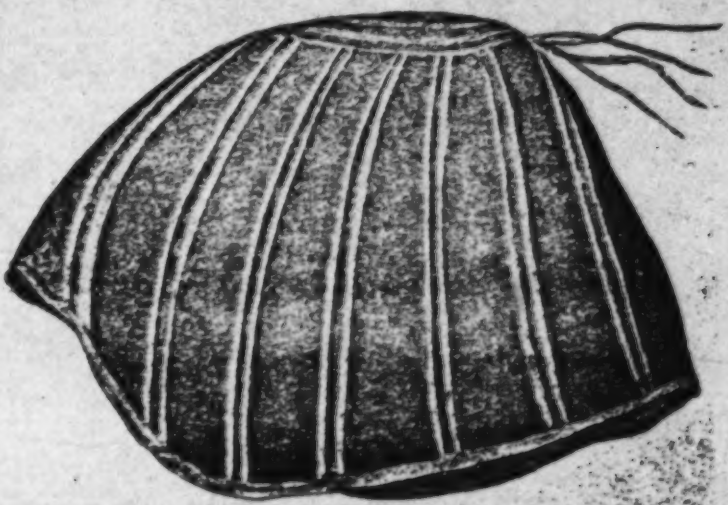


Figure 20. Dancing cap, of sealskin. IV.D.952. Approx. 1/2.

[554]
[426]

Dancing caps were luxuries restricted to influential natives, who nevertheless lent them freely to kinsmen, so that in the course of an evening's entertainment the same cap might appear on half a dozen heads, both men's and women's.

I have never seen a specimen, but a native of that region told me that the skin was split down the middle of the back so that the long wing feathers would fall over the dancer's shoulders. The bill, after careful cleansing, was whitened with gypsum, and, whenever possible, one of the valuable blue beads that reached this area from Siberia was tied to the nostril of the upstanding bill. The dancer also planted a long wing feather on the front of his head, and one on each side. Only the skin of a yellow-billed loon (*Gavia stellata*) was acceptable for such a head-dress; any other skin would have excited ridicule.

Mittens. The ordinary mittens (*pealluk*) were very short, covering the hands but leaving so much of the wrists bare that, unless protected by long coat sleeves, they were often severely frost-bitten. Adults seemed very indifferent to this defect, though they sometimes finished off the edges with long-haired fringes of white fur that afforded some slight protection; but mothers often lengthened the mittens of their children.

Most of the mittens were single, with fur on the outside only, where it covered the whole surface (Figure 23*a*). A few were made double to carry fur on both sides (Figure 23*b*); others had fur all over the outside, except on the palm, where it was inside (Figure 23*c*); and a type that usually bore two or three ornamental bands of white fur around the wrist, or across the back of it, had no fur at all on the palm, inside or outside (Figure 23*d*). The last type was much in vogue for dances because it furnished a better grip on the heavy drum-handle, but whether it developed on this account is not known.

Most short mittens were made from the brown summer skins of the caribou, but some were also made from the heavier white winter skins. Naturally only those made from the brown summer skins carried the insertions of white fur. One occasionally saw mittens of polar bear skin or sealskin, which were stiffer and (the sealskin ones at least) not so warm as caribou-fur mittens, but, unlike the latter, did not shed their fur with dampness. They were particularly serviceable, therefore, for such tasks as icing the sled runners.

If we leave out of consideration the white insertions just mentioned, every mitten was cut out in three pieces. One piece gave the palm and half the thumb; a second, the front of the wrist and the back of the thumb; and the third formed the whole back of the mitten. The general pattern can be seen in Figure 24.

Besides his short, everyday mittens each man owned a pair of long ones (*atqatik*) for working with snow, and especially for building the snow-hut (Figure 25). It was made, preferably, from the leg skins of the caribou, on which the long hair lies smooth and flat; and it covered the sleeve of the coat to about the middle of the forearm, where a sinew drawstring that passed through a narrow band of dehaired skin, doubled back and sewn all round the upper edge, checked the penetration of the snow. Being solely a working mitten (whence it commonly received another name, *savaktotik*, i.e., "working garment") it carried no ornamentation and was furred on the outside only. Like the shorter mitten, it was cut out in three pieces.

28: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1946
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

291
294

Figure 23. Mittens of caribou fur. IV.D.1014, 880, 1143, 1182. Approx. 1/4.

23

291
294

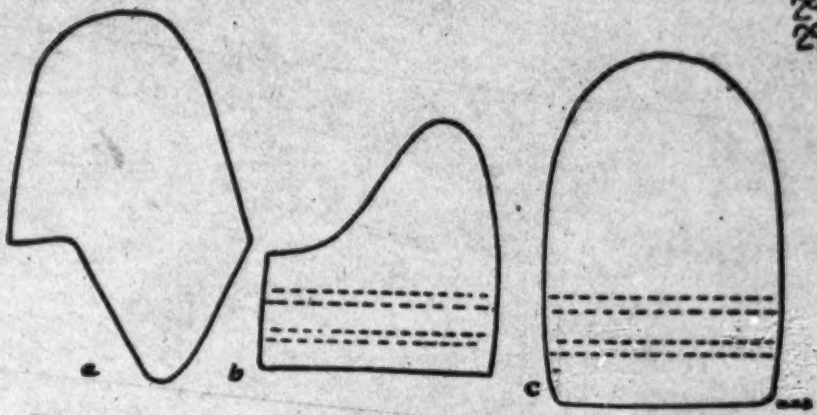


Figure 24. Mitten patterns; a: palm and part of thumb; b: part of thumb and wrist; c: hood.

292
294

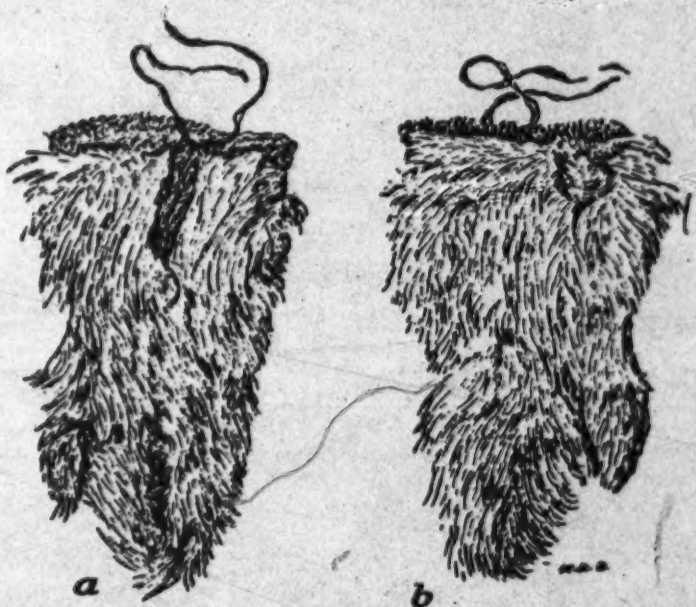


Figure 25. Man's long mittens, of caribou fur; a: front; b: back. IV.D.3858. 1/2.

28: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1946
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

291
294

Coats. Women's coats differed appreciably from men's in two respects only; the shoulders were greatly enlarged and the hood magnified into a kind of bag. Both the outer and inner coats were cut on the same general pattern as men's outer coats except for the hood, which in the outer garment was built up of five pieces (excluding insertions and the white fringe around the face); in the inner, where the fur required no matching and carried no insertions, it was made on a simpler pattern (Figure 26). When enlarging the backs of the garments

[854]

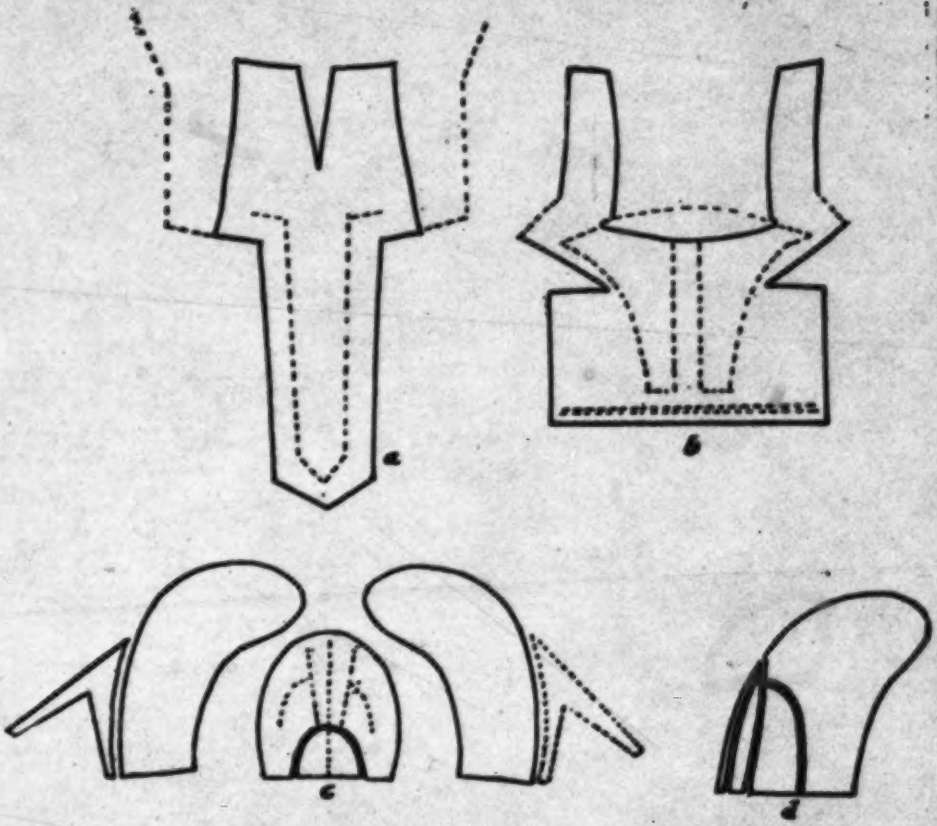


Figure 26. Patterns of women's coats: *a*: back; *b*: front and sides; *c*: hood of outer coat; *d*: hood of inner coat. Approx. 1/12.

to make room for a baby the V-shaped gusset between the shoulders was replaced by a fuller, more or less oblong one, and the neck-piece of the hood expanded to correspond; a cord tied around the hips, over the outer coat, kept the infant from slipping down.

Many women attached to the bottom of the outer coat, in the very middle of the front, a triangular piece of fur, brown, white, or brown with white insertions. With the white gusset in the front of the trousers, and the white or coloured edges of the outer stocking, this gave a series of more or less symmetrical triangles inside one another, all having the bottom edge of the coat for their bases (Figure 27). The same triangular appendage sometimes appeared on men's coats also, but much more rarely, because, standing isolated, it could not produce the same decorative effect.

Figure 27. Outline of the white insertions on the upper edges of women's outer stockings, on the front of the trousers, and on the bottom of the coat, showing the symmetrical V patterns, one inside the other.

As common, or almost as common as this triangular appendage was a long, narrow, rectangular one, fringed, like the bottom edge of the coat, with white fur. Here the dark line of appendage fur merely continued the dark line down the middle of the coat.[1]

The decoration of women's outer coats generally coincided with that on men's, except that white armbands encircled the forearms instead of the upper arms. A coat from Bathurst Inlet offered the most striking variation; down the middle of the front it carried the regular tattooing design, a Y flanked on each side by an I, produced by narrow bands of red-stained skin that were edged and dotted with running stitches of white skin in such a way as to give the impression of embroidery (Figure 28). One or two other women in the same district wore coats modelled after those in vogue among the inland Eskimo to the southeast; that is to say, they were of nearly equal length back and front, slit up the sides, edged with close-set fringes of dehaired caribou thongs, and provided with hoods about half as long again as those normally current among the Copper Eskimo.

[1] *See* Plate IX A, Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, vol. XII, pt. A, p. 987.

28: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1946
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

291
294
531

Figure 28. Front of woman's coat, decorated with a running stitch. IV.D.803. Approx. 1/3.

Trousers. Women, like men, wore two pairs of trousers (*nalikkak*) in winter, and only the inner pair in summer; but as their stocking covered more of the leg than the men's, their trousers were shorter and did not reach the knees.

The inner pair was rarely if ever decorated. The outer often had coloured stripes down the outside of each leg, and, in the middle of the front, a triangular gusset of white fur, with its two sides parallel to the white or coloured edges of the stockings. To enhance the symmetry of the arrangement these two sides also carried at times an edging of coloured bands (Figure 29).

So far as I know, women never used drawstrings on their trousers, but secured them with a sealskin thong fitted with loop and toggle.

Shoes, Socks, and Mittens. These were in no way different from those worn by men. Women, of course, did not possess the long working mittens that reached half-way up the forearm.

Waterboots. The woman's waterboot (Figure 30) had the shape of the stocking beneath it, which above the foot differed entirely from a man's boot or stocking. After fitting tightly around the ankle it expanded rapidly upward, attaining just above the knee a diameter of from 10 inches to over a foot. The outer side of the boot (or stocking) then tapered to form a wide strap that tucked over the belt holding up the trousers.

In the foot it did not differ from a man's boot. Like a man's, too, the leg had only one seam, straight up the middle; but in so large an expanse of skin there were generally two or three holes, from wounds and other causes, that required covering with round patches.

Outer Stockings. The waterboot replaced in summer the outer stocking (*ipiya.k*) of caribou fur, which bore the same peculiar shape as the boot, but was frequently decorated after the manner of the man's outer stocking. Commonly all the upper edge, from the inside of the knee to the top of the strap that tucked into the belt, was bordered with several parallel rows in red, white, and black (either the black or the red, but more commonly the red, might be omitted). From the strap to the foot, down the front of the leg, ran another broad band, similarly coloured, and a third, or else two or three rather narrow bands inserted an inch or two apart, extended half-way around the ankle or completely encircled it (*See* Figure 31). There were numerous modifications of this pattern, however, as in the patterns on men's stockings. For example, the coloured stripes varied greatly in number; they were often replaced by broad or narrow bands of white caribou fur; and the decoration down the front of the leg was frequently omitted (*See* Figure 32).

The feet of both outer and inner stockings were made preferably from caribou leg skins, but not infrequently from marmot fur. In spring some women replaced them with feet of haired sealskin. The rest of the garment was derived from the body fur of the caribou.

Inner Stockings. These corresponded in shape with the outer, and bore the same name, *ipiya.k*, but were almost invariably plain. In fact, I have seen only one decorated pair, a specimen that came from Prince Albert Sound. It bore the usual red, white, and black stripes, but they were inserted on the hairless, unattractive side, as the stocking was worn with the fur side in. Around the ankle was an additional design, the YII pattern that women tattooed on their arms and etched on their needle-cases, here produced by running stitches of very narrow sealskin (Figure 33). This design was very rare on garments, but occurred also on a woman's coat and on a pair of women's outer stockings that we bought in Coronation Gulf.

29
53

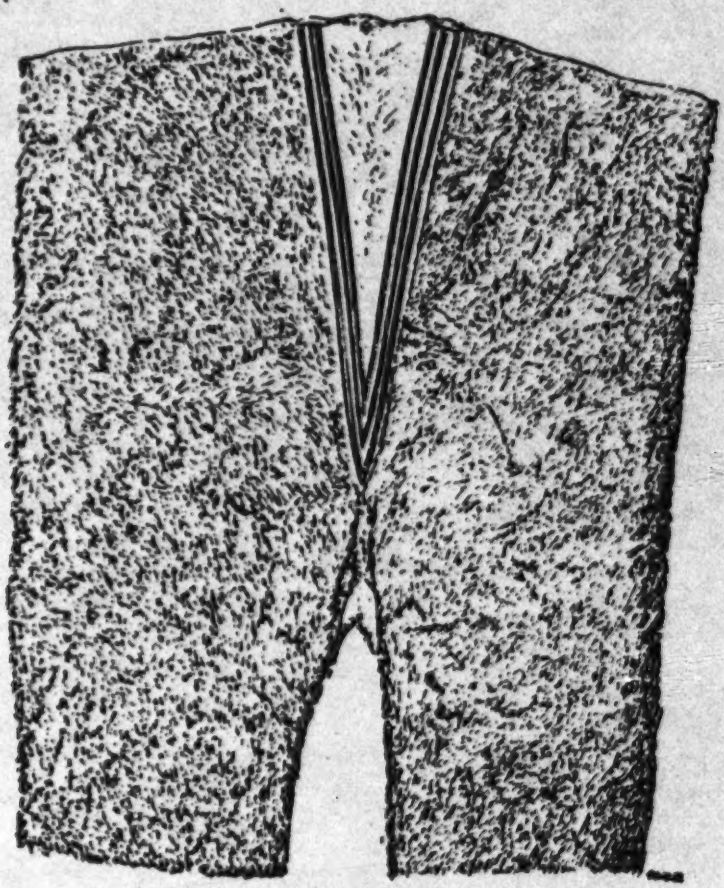


Figure 28. Woman's outer trousers. IV.D.780. 1/8.

291

Figure 29. Woman's waterboot. IV.D.294. Approx. 1/5.

28: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1946
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

291
294
531

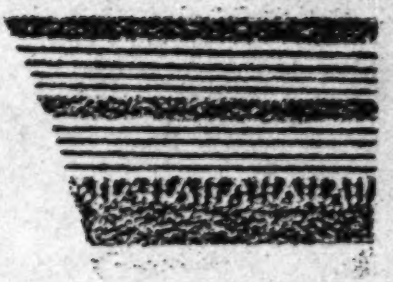


Figure 33. Insertions on the bottom of a woman's inner stocking. IV.D.1068.

28: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1946
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

CHILDREN'S CLOTHING

Within the snow-hut or tent a baby sprawled stark naked on bedskins, or wore only a caribou-fur diaper, covered at times with a second diaper of either caribou skin or sealskin that fastened around the waist with a cord. Without other protection than this the mother carried it on the trail under the fur coat. In very cold weather, however, she generally added warm mittens and socks of any available fur, caribou, marmot, or hare; often, too, a square of fur on the back fastened by two cords, one around the neck and the other around the waist. The baby's front, of course, needed no covering, as it rested directly against the mother's bare back.

As soon as the child was old enough to stand on its feet it received a proper suit of clothing, generally made at first in one piece (Figure 34). The front, as in European combinations, was slit down the middle and laced across; another slit passed between the legs. Each mitten was sewn half-way around the edge of the sleeve, leaving a gap through which the hand could protrude; and there was a hood that pulled up over the head. Sealskin shoes completed the costume, which was naturally doubled in cold weather and augmented by separate outer stockings. Occasionally, a cap was substituted for the usual hood, and a few suits had the slit, not in front, but at the back. Although the usual material was caribou fur, marmot fur was nearly as common in districts where marmots were plentiful, because it did not spoil so readily with dampness.

At the age of about 5 or 6 the child again changed its costume. It now wore a separate coat shaped like its parent's, but often lacking the long tail; combination trousers and stockings held up either by a belt or by a strap over one shoulder; outer stockings reaching to just below the knees; and sealskin shoes. Some of these combination trousers and stockings fitted very tightly, others were broad and flowing. The clothing of a girl at this time was indistinguishable from that of a boy, except that her coat often had the wide shoulders that characterized her mother's coat. Some girls retained this child's costume up to the time of their marriage,[1] but most boys and girls adopted full adult clothing as they approached adolescence. It was quite common for a child to wear an inner suit, all in one piece, beneath an outer suit in which the coat and trousers were separate.

There was seldom any decoration on the outer suit made all in one piece, and such as did occur seemed to consist merely of narrow white bands of caribou fur around the sleeves and possibly elsewhere. Boys' and girls' combination outer trousers and stockings occasionally showed similar white bands. From Coronation Gulf I obtained a girl's combination outer trousers and stockings that had borne two parallel stripes of white fur around each leg just above the ankle. When the fur became worn, however, and the costume shabby, it had been reversed to serve as inner combinations, and decorated down the front of the legs and around the ankles, on the now outer, hairless side, with narrow bands of black and white sealskin similar to those on women's outer stockings (Figure 35). No other inner combination suit, to my knowledge, bore any decoration; this one seemed as unique of its kind as the woman's inner stockings illustrated in Figure 33.

[1] For a photograph showing a marriageable girl in this costume see Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, vol. XII, pt. A, Pl. VIII (p. 280 top right).

855
294
291

Figure 34. Child's combination suit. IV.D.176. Approx. 1/8.

855
291
531

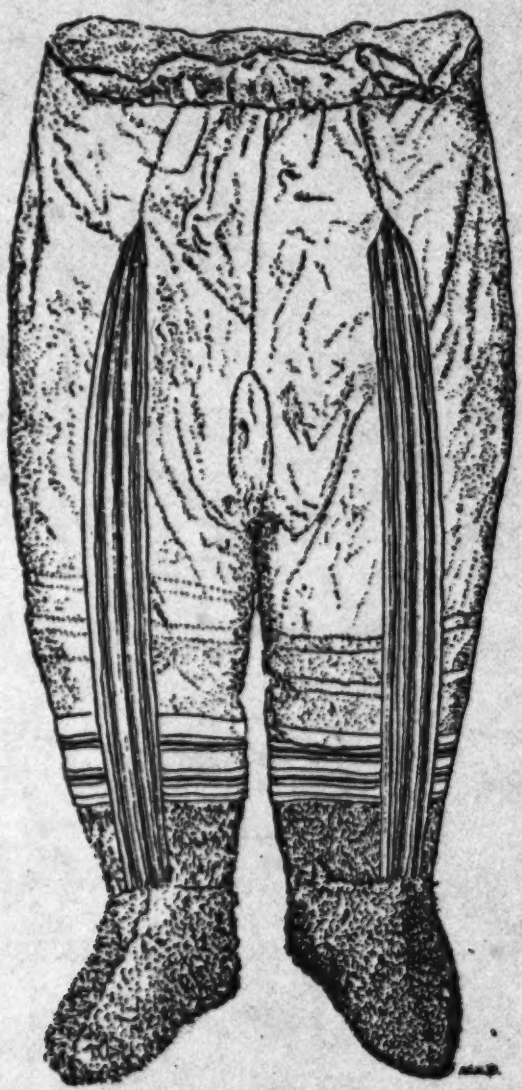


Figure 38. Girls' combination trousers and stockings. IV.D.888. Approx. 1/8.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF COPPER ESKIMO CLOTHING

Some of the disadvantages of Copper Eskimo clothing have been mentioned already. The caribou fur shed its hair with dampness, and the shoes and boots soled with the skin of the common seal quickly wore out on stony ground and required almost daily patching during the summer months. The swarming mosquitoes of midsummer frequently assailed the only half-covered knees and wrists; the high-waisted coat hardly checked the winter gales from chilling the stomach; and the rather scanty hood could not shield the forehead and cheeks from frostbite. Despite these defects the costume of the men was extraordinarily well adapted to the climatic conditions, and capable of very little improvement with the meagre resources at their command. It was both lighter and warmer than woollen clothing of proportionate bulk, and at the same time much healthier, because it allowed the air to circulate freely under the trousers and coat. The four-layered footgear was eminently practical, being much easier to dry over a blubber-burning lamp than the thick-furred two-layered footgear, fitting tightly around the legs of long breeches, which has long been fashionable among the Eskimo of the Mackenzie River delta and northern Alaska. The women's costume, however, was much less satisfactory. The wide shoulders and enormous hood were wholly unnecessary, and the latter both heavy and cumbersome. Worse still were the ridiculous stockings, which hardly protected the legs even in mild weather, and in blizzards frequently filled with snow. More than one woman had lost her toes by wearing them, and many had incurred severe frostbites.

The Copper Eskimo took great care of their clothing, as was only natural, seeing that skins were never too plentiful and the labour of dressing them, cutting them out, and sewing them together was considerable. The first thought of every native on entering a snow-hut was to beat the loose snow from his clothing with the stick that each household provided for that purpose. Spare clothes were packed away in large seal- or caribou-hide bags, which were stored in winter either in a cavity under the sleeping platform or on the roof of the snow-hut beyond reach of the dogs; in summer they were deposited on high caches under other possessions, or buried beneath mounds of stones. Strips of white fur from the belly of the caribou received special attention on account of their value for insertions, and the women carefully cleansed them of all dirt and blood-stains with soft snow.

ADORNMENT

Ornaments and Charms Attached to Clothing. Men's coats often trailed on the back white lemming skins, arranged with the usual regard for symmetry. There were generally three skins, one attached to the back of each shoulder and the third spaced half-way between them at a somewhat lower level (*See* Figure 36); rarely there were five, arranged in the same fashion, but, of course, closer together, and forming a slightly curved line parallel with the lines at the neck and waist. A native who owned only one lemming skin generally sewed it midway between the shoulders, but at times suspended it from a button in the small of the back. This button, made of bone, musk-ox horn, or, rarely, the boiled albumen of a bird's egg (Figure 37), appeared quite frequently on the everyday outer coat, and was an integral part of the heavy winter coat used in sealing, where it served to attach both the hunter's foot-pad of polar bear or caribou fur and the bone pins with which he closed the wounds in his seals. Men seldom affected other ornaments, but one Prince Albert Sound Eskimo wore a bandolier of musk-ox fur, and another a bandolier of polar-bear claws suspended from a strap of caribou hide (Figure 38).

301
237
291

Figure 26. Lemming-skin pendant on the back of man's coat. IV.D.367. Approx. 1/6.

301
237
789

Women occasionally strung a row of small bones (Figure 39) or of caribou incisor teeth across the fronts of their coats, but other appendages to their clothing were not so much ornaments as charms. Every mother who carried a baby sewed to her coat some object that she conceived would make the child a skilful hunter or an efficient housewife when it grew up; and she transferred it to the child's clothing as soon as it was old enough to run about. The commonest of these charms were small bones or pieces of fur from a caribou or seal that had been killed by a near relative, e.g., an uncle or a grandfather. Thus, the combination coat and trousers of one little boy carried a string of caribou fur on the chest and another on the back of the left shoulder. Another child wore on his belt a strip of fur from the forehead of a caribou; to the coat-shoulder of a third were sewn three or four feathers from the tail of a redpoll; and a fourth dangled a tern's bill from his back.

301
237

Figure 39. Chain of fox bones from the front of woman's coat. IV.D.371. 1/2.

301
321
291

The bone (rarely wood) belt toggle might perhaps be regarded as an ornament, because though generally invisible, it was often decorated with incised lines (Figure 40). A very small toggle on one child's belt (Figure 41) was perforated from side to side, and so closely resembled the toggles attached to needle-cases that it may have been diverted from its original purpose.

301
321
291
531

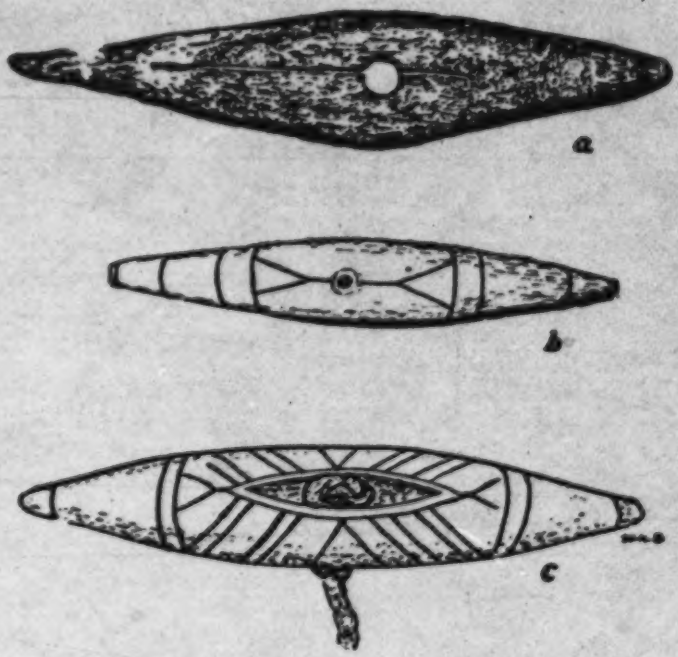


Figure 48. Women's belt toggles. IV.D.1372, 844. 1/1.

301
321
291
225

For a time I fancied that belt toggles could be distinguished from the toggles used for hauling seals (Figure 150) by the direction of the line-hole, but my collection of both kinds showed that any such distinction was illusory; in both, the hole was drilled indifferently from top to bottom or from side to side. It is probable, indeed, that many a toggle that served for hauling seals during the winter months became a belt toggle when the sealing season ended. At all events, I know of no criterion for separating the two except that if a toggle is of wood, or if its hole is of very small diameter, it probably terminated a belt strap and was not used for sealing.

Figure 41. Toggle from child's belt. IV.D.213. 1/1.

321
412
→
[302]
→
291
[30]
←

Combs and Snow Goggles. Though not strictly ornaments, these may conveniently find a place under that heading. Combs were not very highly regarded by the Copper Eskimo. Many women employed their fingers instead, and those who did possess combs used them only rarely. All that I saw were made of bone, and seldom exceeded 4 inches in length.

412
321
322

Because many natives experienced difficulty in obtaining a piece of wood large enough to carve into a bowl, they often substituted a curved piece of bone or of musk-ox horn, lashed to a wooden handle. Specimens of these more or less makeshift scoops are illustrated in Figure 138, where *a* (IV.D.135) has a bowl of musk-ox horn, and *b* (IV.D.179) of bone. The handles of such scoops could be lengthened, if necessary, by lashing to the walking-stick or fish spear, for which purpose their owners often cut notches at the ends.

SEALING EQUIPMENT

225
221

In the spring and autumn, when the seals were basking on the surface of the ice, Copper Eskimo hunters occasionally tried to crawl near enough to transfix them with their harpoons; but so slight were their chances of getting within range—unless perhaps in rough ice where there were sheltering hummocks—that most men never attempted the feat until they obtained rifles, which extended the effective distance for attack from 8 or 10 yards to 100 yards. Every man, on the other hand, and even some of the younger women, regularly tracked down the seals' breathing holes in the ice during the winter months and harpooned the animals when they rose to the surface. In midwinter, when the days were short, they started out for their hunting grounds half an hour before dawn, and did not return home until after dark. Their outfit was fairly standardised, though not always complete. Each man wore a long outer coat of thick caribou fur to protect his body from the cold. Sewn to the back of this coat was a bone button (*See* Figure 37) for the attachment of various tools, viz., a scoop to clear away the snow, bone skewers for closing the wounds in the seals, a toggle to drag them home, a spare harpoon head, and sometimes a foot-pad to protect the hunter's feet as he waited motionless, 1, 2, or even 3 hours, over the breathing hole. In his hand he carried his harpoon, the usual long, two-edged knife, and an "indicator" to warn him when a seal was rising to breathe; and from one wrist hung a special toggle that he attached to the trace of his dog. His method of hunting is described in "Life of the Copper Eskimos", Reports of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, vol. XII, pt. A, pages 112-114; here we need consider only the details of his tools and weapons.

Harpoons. The harpoon was roughly the height of a man, or from 5 feet 6 inches to 6 feet long; and it varied only in minor details (Figure 139). It contained essentially four parts—a shaft, usually of wood, but occasionally of two or more pieces of antler riveted and lashed together; a bone or antler (very rarely, copper) foreshaft that fitted into a hollow bone cap at the end of the shaft; a detachable head with a long hand line of plaited sinew;

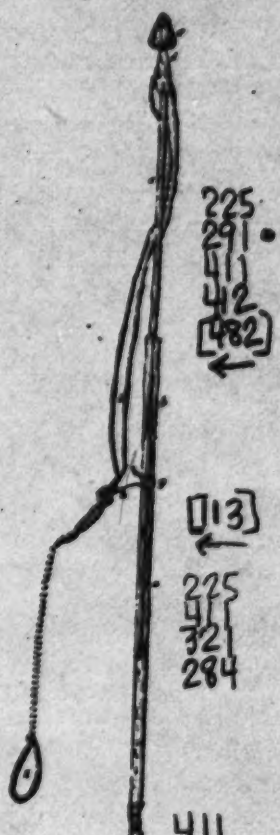


Figure 139. Sealing harpoon. *a*: wooden shaft; *b*: bone socket-piece riveted to the shaft with copper nails; *c*: antler foreshaft; *d*: antler head; *e*: copper blade; *f*: antler butt; *g, h*: sinew from hand line tucked under the thong that runs along the shaft, the thong itself being held down at this point with a copper staple; *i*: hand line of braided sinew; *k*: grip of hand line. IV.D.896. 1/10.

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

142
• 291
301
516
593

Ikpuck and Icehouse.

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

of an unknown world, possibly their enemies. So many wonderful things lay in full view around them, things that we regarded but lightly or threw aside as worthless. One after another these began to disappear; first a few discarded tins, then some needles, then a spoon or two. We paid no heed for a time; but when more valuable articles vanished from the house we decided to watch our visitors. We knew they concealed the stolen goods on their persons, although we could discover no pockets in their fur clothing. Both sexes wore loose jackets like European swallow-tail coats, with hoods that pulled over the head. Their breeks, bound tightly round the hips, reached no lower than the knees; and their feet were encased in tight-fitting shoes of tanned sealskin. Yet there was one noticeable difference, for whereas the men had fur stockings tied above the calves, the women wore enormously wide "gum-boots" cut away on the inner sides so that a great pouch bulged out below each knee. We could find no reason for this feminine footgear until a woman slyly dropped a large cup into one pouch. Then we realized that it might have its uses, and solved the mystery of our stolen utensils.

It was these "gum-boots," perhaps, that made the women the worst offenders, sometimes the very women whom we least suspected. Palaiyak reported that he had seen one of our frying-pans in the hut of Mrs.

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

ings for us, stand shyly inside the doorway, kicking their feet together restlessly as though knocking off the snow. Every one is tired after the day's journey, and as soon as the meal is ended strips off his clothes, tucks them under his head for a pillow, and glides into a sleeping-bag of caribou fur. Mrs. Light is the last to retire, for she still has some small duties to perform. She calls in the dogs from the passageway, one by one, throws them a few strips of blubber, and drives them out with the snow-duster, a short stick for beating the snow from our garments. Then she adjusts the lamp for the night, turns our boots and mittens so that they will dry on both sides, fits the snow-block into the doorway to keep out the cold air and the dogs, and slips quickly into her husband's "double" bag of caribou fur. Most of the inmates sleep with their mouths open, and their loud snores reverberating inside the hut drown the less resonant notes of the dogs in the passage.

Leaving Putulik, I rejoined my late acquaintances on Victoria Island. The sun no longer climbed above the horizon, and the "day" was limited to the twilight hours from 9:30 A.M. to 2:30 P.M.; but a bright moon lit up the trail for me during the last three hours of the journey. The tribe was still living in the same settlement, for the women had not completed all the new fur clothes their families required during the winter months, and it would violate one of their most rigid taboos to finish the sewing on the sea-ice,

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

[p.42-C]

Photo by J. R. Cox

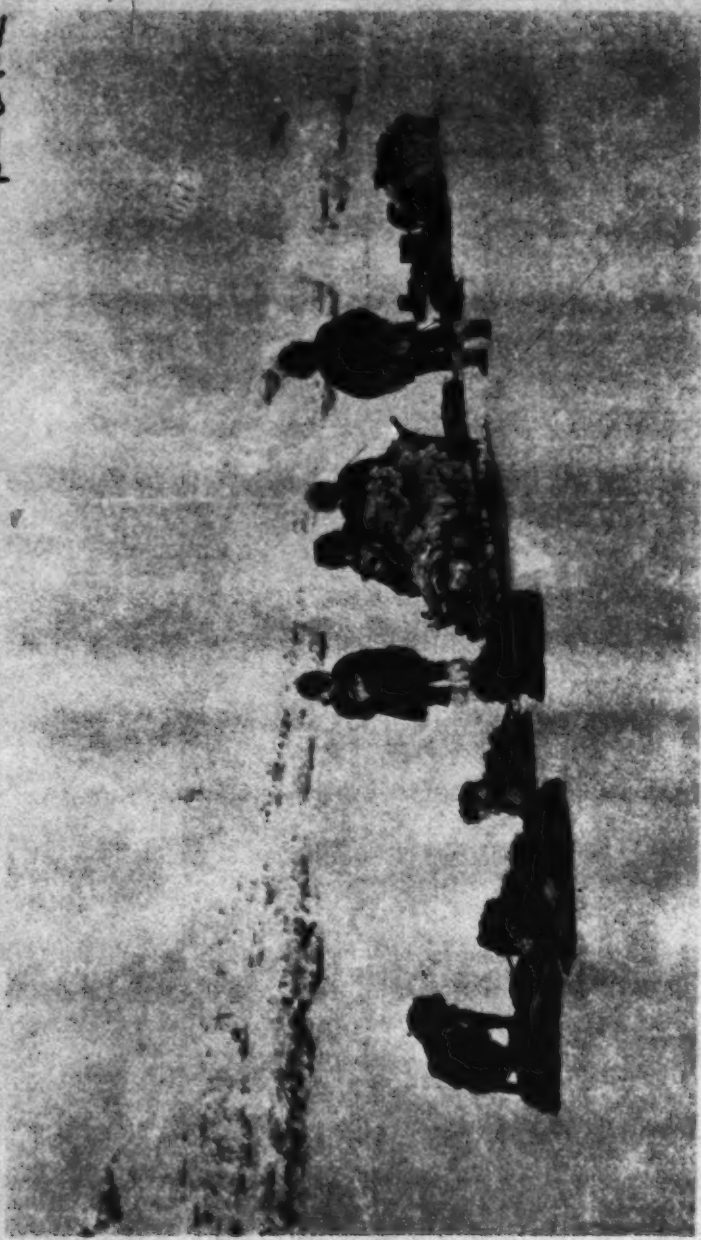
142
291
302
576

The People of the Twilight.

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

[p. 42-F]

484
492
493
• 291
142



We distributed our loads in the proportion of a hundred pounds for each dog.

Photo by F. Johnson

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

transport all his property even with two wives and six dogs.

The natives travelled sixteen miles before they unhitched their teams and built new snow-houses for the night. The men went sealing the next morning, for at this season of the year they rarely had food for more than three days, and could travel long distances only in stages. Elated with the number of seals they captured they moved on the following morning, although the temperature was —29° F., and a howling north-west gale lashed their faces with hard snow. Johansen and I put on masks to protect our cheeks and noses, but discarded them before noon when the thick layer of frost that formed on their inside began to cling to our chins. Many of the Eskimos had their cheeks frozen, still more their wrists, for their short travelling mittens left an uncovered space between the hands and the coat-sleeves. Yet in the height of the storm a woman crouched down in the lee of her sled, withdrew a tiny baby from under her jacket and leisurely changed its sole garment, a diaper of caribou fur. The baby suffered no harm, apparently; but children were not always so fortunate, and the infant mortality was terribly high.

We had no intention of letting this horde of more than a hundred natives break in upon the tranquillity of Bernard Harbour without due warning. Our dogs

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

226
291
138

Ikpuck sat on a snow-block with his back to the driving snow.

[P 128-A]

484
482
492
• 291
133

Photo by R. G. Chipman.

It was a picturesque sight, this train of people and dogs stumbling over hill and lake.

[p. 128-B]

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

137

Photo by J. J. O'Neill.

The caribou, or reindeer, is the camel of the Arctic.

224
411
291
142

Photo by G. H. Wilkins.

The men amused themselves at archery.

[p. 128-C]

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

534
• 291
142
516
302
342

Photo by G. H. Wilkins.

Dance-songs were their chronicles of current events.

[p. 128-D]

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

142
• 291
516
[261]
[854]

Hungry children gathered round our tent.

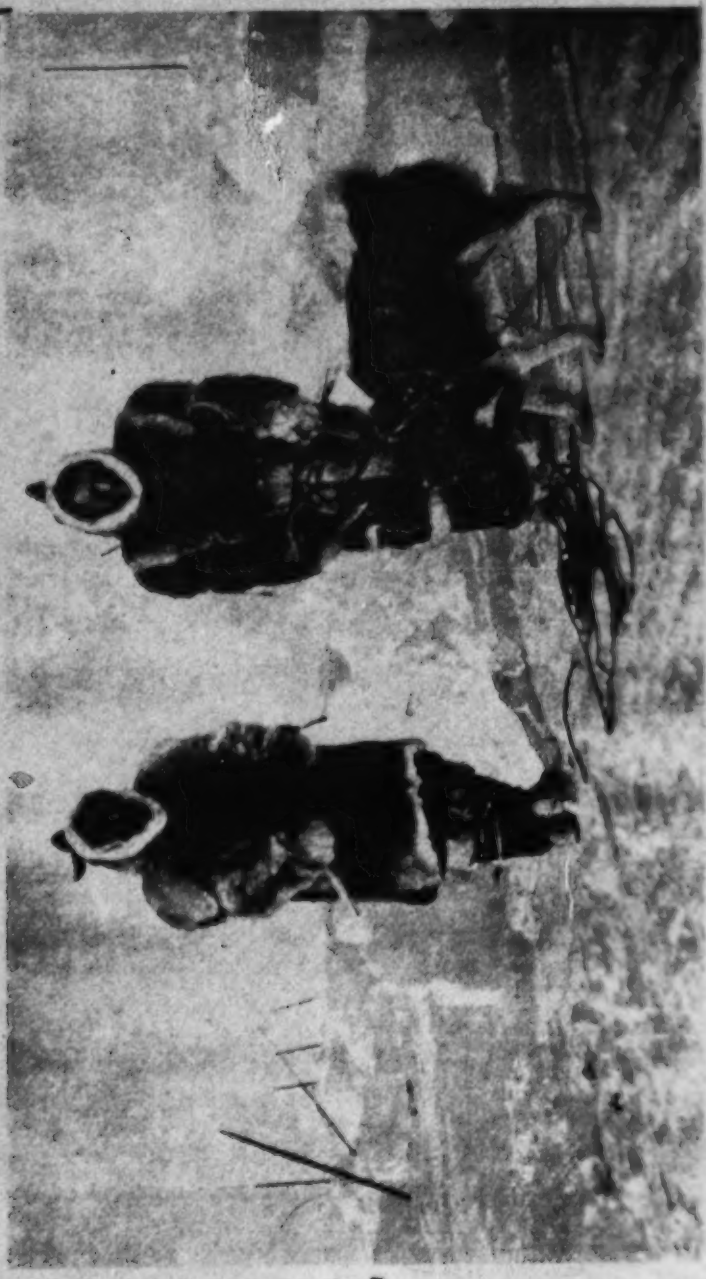
Photo by J. R. Cox.

She carried it everywhere on her back.

[P. 128-E]

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

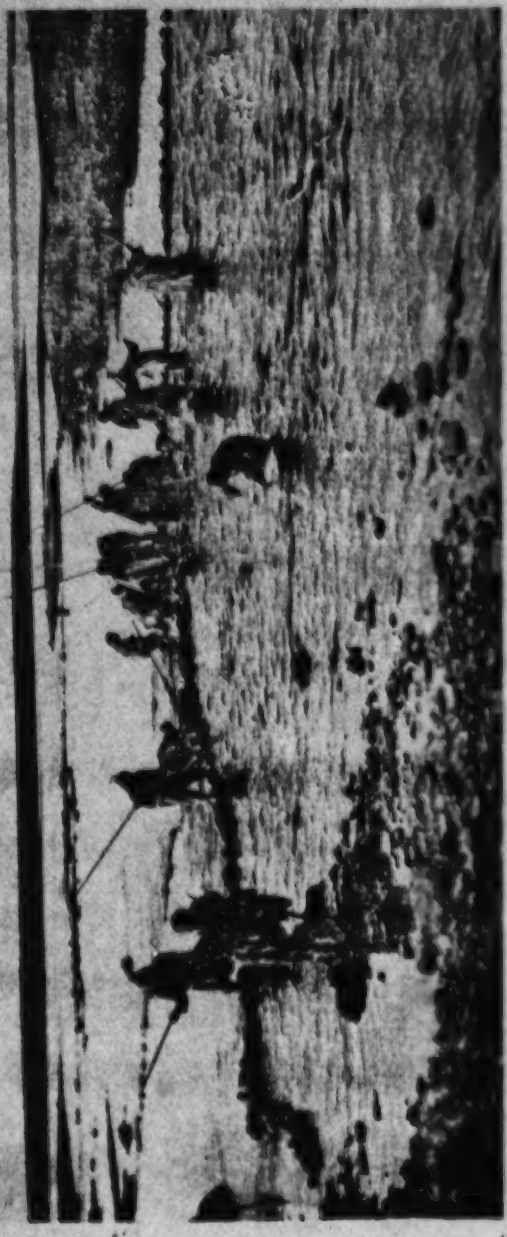
225
142
•291
231



Every morning at daybreak the hunters departed for the sealing-grounds.

[p. 128-A]

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8



226
291
133

Whenever a shoal gathered in the upper chamber they blocked its entrance and stabbed the struggling fish with three-pointed spears.

[p. 128-G]

422
.142
.291
231

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

[H-821-1]

Weighted down with heavy packs, stumbling over a trackless land to a new fishing-lake in the hope of breaking their fast before another sleep.

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

sleeping-gear, spare clothing, and cooking utensils, and the little children their own bedding and whatever else their strength permitted. With the packs lying horizontally across their backs they resembled from a distance dark crosses that crept over the snow, now strung out in irregular formation, now filing one behind another in single line, now clustering together with little movement as the train halted to rest. The dogs trailed behind the women and children, their packs, shaped like saddle-bags, beating against their ribs or grooving continuous furrows in the snow; but they, too, inherited the pioneering blood and adventurous spirit of their masters, and, in spite of their heavy burdens, curled their tails jauntily over their backs and cocked their ears at the alert.

Slowly we filed across Lake Ever-Frozen and deposited our loads on the shore of a deep inlet at its northern end. In a broad pool created by a stream that foamed down the hill-side a red-throated loon gaily dived and rose to the surface again. Ikpuck seized his fish-trident and raced over the ice to spear it; but just as he reached the margin of the pool the ice gave way, and plunged him in water to his waist. The loon flew up, and the mortified hunter returned to the bank to change his clothing. He had stripped off everything but his jacket—like a swallow-tail coat, it reached to his waist in front and hung down in a long tail behind—when a second loon settled in the same

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

223 • 291 place. Despite Icehouse's loud remonstrances, despite the laughter of the rest of us, he raced for the pool again, the long tail alternately flapping between his naked legs and streaming in the air behind him. And again the ice gave way beneath him! Chilled to the bone, and thoroughly crestfallen, he hastened to the shore, and in a surly voice bade Icehouse unfasten the packs and set up the tent.

221 361 226 Our jigging in this corner of Lake Ever-Frozen was very productive for a week, and the new camp with its lines of drying fish among the dogs and tents soon became a replica of the one we had just abandoned. To stand on the ice hour after hour and mechanically vibrate a long line in the clear water below was a pleasantly monotonous occupation when the air was mild and the sunlight sparkled in the crystalline snow. [132] Even when fogs rolled down on us, and only the dark water-holes at our feet relieved the whiteness all around, there was a comfortable peace in the atmosphere and in the mellowed voices that penetrated from 224 somewhere unseen. The life was in fact too tranquil, too monotonous, for The Runner and his wife. They craved more activity, and spoke of hunting for caribou [123] to the northward; and when they broached their project to me I rashly promised to accompany them.

We set out on a clear, bright morning and travelled from one ridge to another, pausing on each crest to search the surrounding country. No caribou were

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

face besmirched with blood and blubber from the titbits she slipped into her mouth, made a somewhat unattractive picture to our European eyes, though the Eskimos thought it charmingly homelike. But as soon as she finished her task she washed with snow, dried her face and hands with a ptarmigan skin, braided her hair, and changed into a neat suit of brown caribou fur adorned with red and white insertion. In this new setting she shone with quite a different radiance; for her face, though almost circular, was so regular, and her complexion so fresh and clear, that even the blue tattoo lines with which all the Eskimo women in this country marred their faces only added piquancy to her charms. If Girling had consented to carry out his missionary duties we would certainly have christened her the "Boreal Venus."

These natives had been in close contact with Anderson's party during the summer and regarded all white men with the greatest respect. When they learned that we intended to stay with them for a few days they renovated an empty hut for our use and equipped it with a stone lamp, which the women supplied with oil and tended night and morning. They, too, like the people we had just left, had suffered from starvation for several weeks; but now their hunters were killing more seals, and as the days lengthened they looked confidently forward to a season of plenty. Their leader and his wife almost embarrassed us with hospitality.

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

although they mentioned huts of stone, still standing in certain places, that a race of dwarfs had built in earlier days. Could it be that the natives had simply forgotten the customs of their forefathers, or was this wooden house in their country a relic of some ancient tribe that had either moved westward or become extinct?

Many small differences between the Eskimos here and their kinsmen in the Mackenzie River delta spoke in favour of the second theory. The Coronation Gulf people possessed no large open boats such as the western natives used for travelling along the coast, and they never employed the one-man canoes or kayaks for hunting seals. Their tools and weapons were much less varied, their clothing of different pattern, and their skill in carving greatly inferior. Altogether their culture seemed less developed than that of the western Eskimos, although the people themselves were not inferior in intelligence.

A year later Girling excavated a wooden house close to the ruin we had discovered on this journey. The objects he recovered from its floor, after removing the surface soil, were entirely strange to the local Eskimos, although familiar to some Alaskan natives, who had unearthed many similar specimens in their own country. Since then one discovery has succeeded another, so that today we know that the people among whom I wandered for two years had themselves moved into

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

857 end of each day's march insisted on performing all the duties that her mother would have undertaken in the [372] same circumstances. She gathered fuel for our campfire while Patsy and I put up the tent, and she superintended, as far as she knew how, the cooking of the [291] evening meal. Then she dried our marching boots [296] (for we changed to slippers each evening), and, before breakfast, patched any holes that the stones might have [224] cut in their soles the day before. She shot an eider [226] duck along the way with Patsy's rifle, and if we had needed fish would have contrived some means of catching them, where Patsy and I might have failed. Altogether, her education was remarkably adapted to the country in which she lived, even though the three R's were not included in the curriculum.

231 There now befell us an accident, of a kind that in an Arctic winter often leads to serious disaster, but in our circumstances caused only embarrassment. One of our two dogs, prowling with its pack beside a cliff, became wedged in a crevice, and in trying to extricate itself lacerated its foot on a sharp rock. I bandaged the wound with a strip of skin and lightened the animal's load, but it was so crippled that it could hardly keep pace with us. We could not abandon it, nor, if we remained with it, could we hope to reach our destination. To our great relief, however, we found two families of Eskimos camping at the mouth of a small creek, who promised to take charge

EPILOGUE

Within ten years of our departure from Bernard Harbour one third of them had been swept away by influenza, and of the hundred Eskimos gathered around the radio station at Coppermine no fewer than twenty-six suffered from advanced tuberculosis.

Was this inevitable? Had we been more conscious of our responsibilities could we have spared them so rude an awakening, so painful an entry into what we call a civilized world? Or does fate spin her web remorselessly, blind to human hopes and weaknesses, indifferent to human suffering?

The children of Jennie's generation who escaped the new diseases underwent a social and economic revolution. Even as we sailed away traders entered their country seeking fox-furs, always fox-furs; and for those pelts so useless for real clothing they offered rifles, shot-guns, steel tools and other goods that promised to make life much easier. So the Eskimos abandoned their communal seal hunts and scattered in isolated families along the coasts in order to trap white foxes during the winter months when the fur of that animal reaches its prime. Their dispersal loosened the old communal ties that had held the families together. The men no longer labored for the entire group, but hunted and trapped each one for his family alone. Their diet and costume changed: more and more it became the diet and costume of the white man. For they had to purchase their winter's supply of food from the trading stores, since trapping